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ABSTRACT

This paper describes research into the nature of the achievement goals and values held by students from Window Rock High School on the Navajo Reservation (Arizona). It examines the compatibility of these student-held goals and values with goals and values promoted by classrooms and schools, and the impact individual, family, peer, class, and school-held goals and values have on student achievement, motivation, and school retention. The specific focus is on the value of competition in the cultural and school contexts of Navajo students. An emphasis is the methodology used to obtain and analyze data. The research was conducted through interviews with 20 students from grades 8 through 12, 10 members of the Navajo community, and 9 Navajo teachers. There appears to be considerable disagreement about the cultural relevance of the value of competition for Navajos participating in the interviews. Some community members and teachers believed that competition was not a traditional value, but others believed the Navajo people have always been competitive. Both groups agreed that competition was becoming more common and increasingly important for the Navajo student. However, students believed that setting goals to improve one's personal best was more appropriate and motivational than competing with others. The divergence between student and adult beliefs raises the question of how students perceive the school environment. The desire of students to improve on their personal best may not be capitalized on effectively in the schools. The study questionnaire is attached. (Contains 1 table and 22 references.) (Author/SLD)

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ED 420 706

Parents, peers, cultural values and school processes: What has most influence on motivating indigenous minority students' school achievement? A qualitative study

Study 1 - Competition

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This paper describes research into the nature of the achievement goals and values held by students from Window Rock High School on the Navajo Reservation. It examines the compatability of these student held goals and values with goals and values promoted by classrooms and schools, and the impact individual, family, peer, class and school held goals and values have on student achievement, motivation and school retention. Specifically, in this paper, we examine the value of competition in the cultural and school contexts of the Navajo students. An emphasis in the paper is a consideration of the methodology used to obtain and analyse the data.

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Academic achievement among many minority indigenous children lags far behind that of their Western peers. Report after report refers to the disadvantaged status of these students within educational settings and the implications of this for their life chances after leaving school (Deyhle, 1989; James, Chavez, Beauvais, Edwards & Oetting, 1995; Parent & Bunderson, 1996; Platero, Brandt, Witherspoon, Wong, 1986; Department of Employment, Education and Training, 1994; Hughes, 1988).

Children who are successful at school appear to be motivated by achieving goals that are salient within the school context, goals that are implicitly and explicitly represented in school agenda, such as the school curricula, classroom and group dynamics, assessment and evaluation strategies, reporting, rewards and punishments. A presumption is made that the values fostered by schools are those which are also important within the broader sociocultural context of the children served by schools. The literature, however, suggests that children from Western societies have many values and goals which, apparently, are the antithesis of those from non-Western indigenous societies (Deyhle, 1989; James, Chavez, & Beauvais, Edwards, & Oetting, 1995; Ledlow, 1992; Sanders, 1987; Yates, 1987). It is believed, for example, that individuals within Western societies value individualism, aggression and competition, power-seeking, future goal orientation and the ability to delay immediate gratification for some later reward, and that these orientations are fostered within the sociocultural milieu of the children - particularly through the modelling of parents, peers, significant others, media, and school processes. On the other hand, it is believed that children from non-Western indigenous societies value affiliation and are motivated by cooperation and social concern with group needs being considered more important than individual needs. It is argued, therefore, that indigenous children value harmony, maintenance of the status quo, anonymity and submissiveness, and therefore eschew competitiveness and individual striving for success. It is also believed that individuals from indigenous societies are strongly present- and past-oriented and therefore more motivated by present-time rewards such as token reinforcement than individuals from modern Western societies. Again, it is believed that these orientations are fostered within the sociocultural milieu of the children, but not within school settings (Duda, 1980, Platero, et al, 1986; Tippeconnic, 1983).

Because of these supposed dichotomies between Western and non-Western indigenous goal and value orientations, many believe that Western style schools, which emphasise competitiveness and individualism, future goal setting, and the delay of

gratification for future rewards, are poorly suited to children from indigenous societies (see, for example, Deyhle, 1989 & 1992; James, Chavez, Beauvais, Edwards & Oetting, 1995; Sanders, 1987; Yates 1987). This view ignores three possibilities. First, that the orientations proposed as culturally valued by one group may also be culturally valued by the other group. Second, that these orientations are not dichotomous within or across groups, i.e., that indigenous and Western children may be more or less competitive, future oriented, socially oriented or individualistic depending on circumstances. Third, that there are orientations in common across groups which are fostered within the sociocultural clime of the children, as well as within school settings, that are positively related to school achievement outcomes. The possibility that diverse groups might be more similar than different in educational settings appears to be a neglected area of research.

One large indigenous minority group which does not appear to thrive within Western style schools is the Navajo. While there are Navajo children who do exceptionally well at school and go on to further education and high prestige occupations, a worrying number fail to reach their potential, drop-out and become unemployed. Some authors view this as the consequence of a mismatch between the values and goals fostered at the schools these children attend, which largely reflect Western values, and the indigenous values of the children derived from their home and community settings. Currently, little is really known about the range of motivational and achievement values and goals that Navajo students hold, nor about the cultural, social and external influences determining the salience of these goals within school settings for these students. This research sets out to identify the relevance and importance of culturally specific beliefs, values and goals, as well as to examine the relevance and importance of goals reflecting Western education, to Navajo students in reservation schools, and to their community more broadly. In particular, the research examines how Navajo students interpret themselves and their world; their affective reactions to schooling; what they consider of primary and secondary significance; and, how they build connections between life events which influence their sense of self, achievement and motivation within school settings. We widen the focus to encompass a range of potentially culturally relevant values, viz., being affiliative and socially concerned to satisfy social needs, and seeking recognition and token rewards, as well as the more typical "Western values" such as being task oriented and seeking for excellence in schoolwork; being competitive and seeking to do better than others; seeking power and group leadership roles. We also consider the

importance of self esteem, sense of competence and sense of purpose to Navajo motivation. These foci of attention are set within the community context and we seek to ascertain which values and goals in education are perceived to be also important for the students' teachers and elders.

This holistic approach should provide important clues to understanding the process of adopting and maintaining or rejecting particular beliefs, values and goal orientations within educational contexts, as well as the cognitive and affective factors involved. Specifically, the research addresses the following issues:

1. The nature of the motivational values, beliefs and goals held by Navajo students.
2. How these beliefs, values and goals are formed in the context of the family, cultural group and wider community of these students.
3. The compatibility of these beliefs, values and goals with those promoted within classrooms and schools reflected through school tasks, evaluation and distribution of authority and decision-making.
4. The relative impact on student achievement of the beliefs, values and goals held by the individual, the peer group, the family, and the school.
5. Whether these beliefs, values and goals change as students progress through the school system, and if so, how and why.
6. The most important determinants of school success for these students and how school success can be facilitated for the Navajo students.

Supplementing the student interviews are interviews with Navajo teachers and community members. The purpose of these interviews was:

1. To establish that the concept of school-based education is important to the Navajo community and, in particular, to examine the cultural relevance and importance of a range of personal, social and educational values drawn from the Inventory of School Motivation (McInerney & Sinclair,1991; McInerney, Roche, McInerney, Marsh, 1997);
2. To discover the referent persons or groups whose normative influence is thought to be relevant to Navajo students in determining the salience of these values;
3. To investigate the external environmental influences perceived by Navajo community members, teachers and students as inhibitors of school motivation and achievement.

In this paper we specifically examine the value of competition in the context of these questions.

Method

To facilitate the conduct of this research the first author lived for a period of two months on the Navajo Reservation to establish the project and gather the data. Semi structured interviews, conducted by the first author, lasted approximately forty minutes and were tape recorded. Student and teacher interviews were conducted in the school tutorial room. Community interviews were conducted at a range of venues convenient to the participants. The purpose of the study was explained to all participants, and all participants were volunteers.

Analyses

Each of the tape recorded interviews was transcribed tape recorded interviews was transcribed to allow analysis of verbatim text. Demographic details were recorded with the interviews, to allow their incorporation into the analysis. Data were entered into QSR NUD*IST to facilitate management and analysis of the large volume of text generated through the interviews. The interviews had allowed for values to be discussed both in an open context, and later in a structured context where questions specifically targeted the nature and cultural relevance of each value. Initial coding of the text was therefore based in part on the need to identify what was said about the specific values which had been the focus of the quantitative analysis (i.e. prior codes were determined) and in part on open coding allowing for the generation of new codes to capture issues and responses arising during the course of the interviews. Categories were eventually established in the following conceptual areas:

- Demographics, e.g. sex, grade level, ethnicity, role (child, teacher, parent etc.)
- People, to store references to family, peers, teachers, etc.
- Schooling, with a 'substantive' branch for discussion about policies and curricula, and another for 'quality' covering evaluative comments and perceptions
- Context, with major sub-branches of values, goals, and cultural background and environment
- Behaviour, dealing with discipline, goal orientation and motivation, substance and behavioural abuse
- Sense of self, for text references relating to self esteem and to sense of purpose
- Impact, to capture indications of effects on school motivation, and

Outcomes, dealing with such things as further education, jobs and beliefs about success.

Text was examined and indexed to one or more of these categories; for example, a

statement in which pressure to compete at school is said to interfere with forming good relationships with other students would be coded as being about competition, affiliation, peers and school policy. Text about a particular issue, such as competition, was coded at that category regardless of whether the statements were positive or negative (or in the case of competition, pro or anti). Thus values - and for the purposes of this paper, competition in particular - could then be reviewed overall (providing a descriptive understanding), then cross-referenced with a number of other categories which enabled us to examine whether competition was referred to as a traditional or modern value, whether it was supported within various social contexts (e.g. within family, peer and school groups), whether it was considered an instrumental value leading to desirable outcomes, and whether it was perceived to motivate or demotivate students.

Participants and setting

The study was conducted at Window Rock High School. Window Rock School District is located in Window Rock, Apache County, Arizona. Apache County has been cited as the ninth poorest county in the United States in a 1993 ranking of poverty areas. Window Rock, Arizona is the headquarters of the Navajo Nation, the tribe with the greatest number of enrolled members. The Navajo Nation is the largest geographic reservation in the United States with land in the four states of Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico and Utah. The Window Rock School District serves students from six communities: Fort Defiance, St. Michaels, Oak Springs, Sawmill, Pine Springs, and Red Lake. These six communities are governed by five Chapter Houses, the local level of Navajo Nation governance comparable to villages and towns or cities. More than 13, 000 people live in the six communities.

Window Rock High School, the site of the research study, is located in Fort Defiance, a few miles from the tribal headquarters in Window Rock. Approximately 800 students are served in grades 9 to 12 in this comprehensive high school accredited by the North Central Association. Not surprisingly, 98% of the student body are Navajo. The High School is a modern school with impressive teaching facilities. In addition to the regular program that might be found in any Arizona high school, Window Rock High School also offers Navajo Culture and History, and Navajo language along with Spanish and French as foreign languages. Advanced Placement classes in English, Math, Social Studies, and Computer Programming are also offered. One-fourth of the student body is enrolled in the computer programming class. As a result of a video productions class,

short news articles written by students have been aired on a public service program called News 101, broadcast over two major channels in New Mexico and Arizona. The research was conducted through personal interviews with twenty students from grades eight through twelve at Window Rock High School (4 per grade), ten members of the Navajo community, and nine Navajo teachers on the staff of Window Rock High School. There were approximately equal numbers of males and females interviewed.

Results and Conclusion

This paper explores Navajo motivation in school settings by analysing in detail transcriptions of the interviews, specifically concentrating on the value of competition. Key issues emerging from our examination are now presented and selected quotations are provided to illustrate the discussion. A major purpose of the qualitative interviews is to shed light on the quantitative findings of earlier survey research with this community, in order to elucidate the statistical findings from a more fine grained perspective. In this earlier psychometric study conducted by the first author competition did not appear to be an important variable predicting school performance for the student participants (McInerney, Roche, McInerney, Marsh, 1997; McInerney & Swisher, 1995). The mean score on the competition scale was 2.88 (on a five point scale strongly agree 1, strongly disagree 5) with a standard deviation of .65. Table 1 presents the frequencies on the particular items comprising the scale, and this table can be considered in the context of the qualitative comments reported below.

Insert Table 1 about here

What do students personally believe about competition?

There is strong evidence that the Navajo students participating in the interviews value affiliation and group allegiance, harmony, and anonymity and eschew competitiveness. Individual success is regarded as an important goal to strive for, but not at the expense of one's peers in a competitive environment. Personal success was determined by bettering one's own performance. Among the reasons given for the lack of salience for competition were:

1) **That it is inappropriate to set oneself above others and for only some people to be winners. In other words group allegiance makes personal competition inappropriate and difficult.**

Melinda: *Well, if a person thinks they're successful just by getting grades and wanting to be better than others makes the other person that's feeling successful that's just medium, average, getting grades that are passing, it's making them not feeling successful too.*

Farelyn: *Yeah, because like if I become the top one or something like that, it might feel like I don't belong.*

2) **Competition can generate poor social interactions**

Filbert: *(Competition) is not really important to me,... I just want to have good grades, I don't want to really make people mad by saying I want to work harder to beat everybody in my class.*

Vibeka: *Cause some people that kind of want to show off and stuff, kind of rub it in on people who can't do very well.*

Vikki*: I have some friends that like try and put me down and I have friends who say "God your are doing a good job and you should try and keep it up".*

3) **Interpersonal competition is not necessary as people should compete against their own best, and work at their own pace**

Bobbie: *Because I guess that if you know you did your best, then you did your best. You already beat everybody by knowing you did your best.*

Calvina: *(Competition) is not really important. I don't want to show everybody that I'm the best or I am doing so good at school. I mean, it's not really important because I know that I am doing good and nobody else needs to know.*

Janelle*: I don't try to compete with them. I just stand back and learn at my own pace...*

4) **Competition is selfish**

Geebah: *Competitions like, I don't know, It's like selfish to me, too. I mean it's like you want to have everything your own way.*

5) Competition is alright in sport but not in academics

***OJ**: Oh yeah, well yeah on the basketball court but no, I don't think with grades and stuff*

A minority of students did value competition and the reasons for this included.

1) The need to compete in the wider society in order to survive

***Erna**: I think it's important because without that you probably just won't go far, like that's how I am, like if I know someone's like beating me or something I just try harder to be better than them.*

2) The need to show other people that individuals and the Navajo people generally can be successful

***Ray:** Competition is real important because if you don't compete against others you can't rise as high as you can.*

***Tuck:** Yes (competition is important) cause Navajo people we want to show people out there that we can do it.*

A number of students responded that competition was O.K. if it occurred within a supportive social environment.

***Eli:** Yeah, competitions okay. Especially if you feel like it, if you really know the friend.*

***Ray:** Well they don't like to compete because they like to live in harmony and if you compete, you create chaos with others because you just took away something that someone might have wanted and that might create conflict right there but if you just do it in a competition and stuff like that you just stay peaceful and most of the games they have are not competitive, it's just winning within yourself, a challenge to yourself.*

<u>What do Navajo teachers think about competition?</u>

The nine Navajo teachers interviewed were very positive towards the value of competition within the school setting. Some noted that competition was not a traditional value, while others suggested that Navajos were always competitive, and that there is no conflict in being Navajo and being competitive. Nevertheless, while there was a difference of opinion as to the traditional antecedents of competition, most teachers indicated the value of competition not only to survive within the tribal community, but also, and most importantly, to survive in the wider United States community. Most teachers believed that competitiveness was a strong characteristic of the general American community and hence it was inevitable that Navajos also became more

competitive. Many suggested that students who came from successful homes where the parents had a higher level of education were socialised into valuing competition.

Daniel: *This competition issue is still quite Navajoish - it's not as bad as it used to be - some years back in the early 30's and 40's or even 50's you were totally isolated if you pursued college education or any kind of level of education - today you don't see that but it still leaves a bad taste in some respects because now you can see that there are a lot of kids excelling and in competition with other people - they seem to be in competition with other races and not their own people- so there is a [illegible] of adaptability when they come back to their own people. (Is competition important?) Yes and no. The culture pushes - the Anglo culture pushes the American to excel whereas the Indian culture - you can excel but you can do it within a group and still excel - that would be nicer.*

Alberta: *I think Navajos are very competitive because, first of all, we are always told you can, minorities are always pushed, you can do anything that you can do, that everybody else can do, and that shows that competition, being competitive.*

Teachers also suggested that students like to compete, and it is a good motivator. Being competitive is also considered necessary to be successful at college.

Willy: *I think it would be wise to compete. If you're thinking seriously about college because I think it's where a lot of competition is, at universities....That's what the white man's philosophy of education (is).*

Dennis: *But is that acceptable or are there other alternatives?*

Willy: *Ah, our elders since we have this education and then they tell us to go to school, see what you can make of yourself, get out there and compete, that's the way that they tell us.*

Pauletta: *I think part of it is resenting where somebody's doing better than you, it can be that, but culturally we were told, I remember as a young child I was told, don't be above somebody else. But yet now the view has changed. Whereas we're saying the only way to get to be successful is to do the best you can and the people who aren't as high up as you maybe or equal with you, that's their tough luck, just as somebody who's doing better, that's good for them. They just need to work harder is what they're being told now, culturally, I think.... Well, when you're off the reservation in Anglo society, you are very competitive because racism is still there and so the only way to combat racism is just to do better than them.*

Jack: *But the ones that are competitive are parents that already have been educated, they have some kind of formal education beyond post-high school and a lot of those parents go to the point where they take their kids out and find programs outside of high school, summer programs and some of the other university programs in the summer time or sometime in the fall during vacations, to boost up a lot of these things.*

Jennifer: *I grew up traditionally. My grandmother raised me and Navajo was my first language and, using that, I think the only part would be competition that would kind of, we practise it today, there's competition everywhere but traditionally we're not supposed to compete with others.*

What do Navajo community members think about competition?

Most of the community members interviewed thought that competition was an important value. A number of these community members thought that while competition was not a traditional value, it was becoming increasingly valued in the modern Navajo world. Because of this some respondents suggested that the tension between old and new values held potential for cultural conflict. A number of respondents suggested that children liked to compete in order to get good grades and to get ahead in life, and it was a way of demonstrating that they were as good as others.

Irene: *In our school we always used to compete, especially if you had a special friend, you know, you'd always want to compete with a friend because you wouldn't want to be getting a low grade and then your friend's always getting good grades, you know, you want to be equal.*

Tom: *I feel that's also important, competing with one another. The Navajo people they always had a history of being competitive and although we're a shy people and we tend to not really get involved, but once we feel comfortable with whoever, I feel that we can be more competitive and I think that's a good way of learning.... With competition, they say that the Navajo people is around 200,000 now. In order to get a job or go to school, you have to be a little more aggressive and there is more competition out there. Just like travel scholarships, there's only so many scholarships available so you have to get better grades, you have to get a better score on the ACT tests, so it's more competitive out there now.*

It was also emphasised by the community interviewees that Navajo parents who are successful and want their children to be successful foster competitiveness in their children.

Marie: *Oh, those students that are highly motivated come from a family whose first priority is education, the parents say that education is very important: you need to be in school, you need to do this and that and they've been through this since First Grade or Kindergarten and when they get to the high school they're really competitive and they want to do well. They want to get the grades and they're competing for the highest and for scholarships and things like that. I think it all goes right back to the parents and how the home life is.*

Wilbur: *(Talking of his children). Academically they also wanted to be the best in their class, with their own peers and they managed to be in the top five of their graduating class and I think there was a disappointment on my younger son because he finished second instead of first in his class, so I've always emphasized competition as a matter of survival also, because this I learned through the military and that is where, if you are going to live you'd better be better than the other person.*

Discussion

There appears to be considerable disagreement about the cultural relevance of the value of competition for the Navajos participating in the interviews. Some community members and teachers believed that competition was not a traditional value, while others believed that Navajo people have always competitive. Both groups agreed, however, that competition was becoming more common and increasingly important to the welfare of the individual and the Navajo community in general. In stark contrast, few students believed that competition was important. In most cases the argument presented by students was that competition generated poor interpersonal relationships and made "losers" feel failures. While this was not put in the context of traditional versus modern values by the students, it does give evidence that Navajo students are affiliation oriented, and value harmony and good social relations while working at school. The majority of students believed that setting goals to improve one's personal best (in other words competing against personal standards) was much more appropriate and motivational than setting out to compete with others. For those students who valued competition it derived its value from its capacity to demonstrate that Navajo students are as good as anyone else, and that it contributed to one's capacity to survive in the "big outside" world. In most cases students suggested that competition within a supportive environment was O.K. It is

possible that these views expressed by the Navajo students would be replicated in non-Navajo environments, and the psychometric studies conducted by the first author suggest that this would be the case. In other words, competition with others is not a salient value for students generally.

Despite the considerable literature which suggests that the competitiveness characterising Western schools acts as a disincentive to indigenous minority children, in the broad sweep of issues related to motivation and achievement discussed by all the respondents competition was a minor element. Very little reference was made to it in the open interviews where participants were invited to present their ideas on what were the essential determinants of school motivation (or its lack) among the Navajo students at Window Rock. These findings support the findings from the psychometric study which indicated that competition was not a significant predictor of school motivation and achievement.

The divergence between the views expressed by adults in the survey (teachers and community members) and the students raises the question as to how the students perceive the school environment. If teachers value competition, and many families support this, as evidenced from the transcripts, yet students, by and large, do not value it, competitive goal structures are probably counterproductive. Furthermore, the desire of students to improve their personal best, and to situate their learning within a social framework, may not be capitalised on effectively within the school. Issues such as this will be examined when other nodes are analysed.

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QUESTIONNAIRE

Icebreaker - (This is used to establish rapport, and establishes a context for the questions) -

1. Tell me about school at X ..... Prompts (as required)
    a. What is good about school?
    b. What is not so good about school?
2. Since you have been at school you would have come across some (Native American - or Navajo) students who are really all fired-up to do well at school, while other students appear to be only slightly interested in school and poorly motivated.
    Why do you think some (Native American) students are highly motivated at school?
    Why do you think some (Native American) students are poorly motivated at school?

Depending on the answers to the above question target key elements more specifically:

3. If a (Native American) student does well at school what influences might be important?
    Are there any people who are important in this?
    What are the consequences of a (Native American) student doing well at school?
4. If a (Native American) student does poorly at school what influences might be important?
    Are there any people who are important in this?
    What are the consequences of a (Native American) student doing poorly at school?

The next question focuses on the individual's response to perceived difficulties at school and the coping mechanisms that are used to resolve these difficulties -

5. What type of difficulties do you experience at school? How do you cope with these difficulties?

The next questions tap into beliefs and values and how much these reflect community beliefs and values, traditional thought, and Western thought -

6. Do you want to finish High School?
7. (If yes) Why do you want to finish High School?
8. What do you get out of schooling?
9. What does success in life mean to you? How will you know that you are successful?

10. The next questions target key aspects of motivation so that we can ascertain their relative importance to the respondents, and if and how this importance changes over time -

Preamble: In earlier work I looked at a number of goals that might be related to a (Native American) student's motivation at school. I want you to tell me what you think about each and whether you think they are important for a child to be motivated at school.
Use separate sheet. When the respondent is ranking the motivators have him or her look at a sheet. Then collect the sheet back.

Some students are motivated to work hard at school because they -

1. Want to be really good at their schoolwork and to do better work than before.

2. Want to be better than and beat others at school work, for example come first in a test.

3. Want to be put in charge of others at school.

4. Want to work with their friends.

5. Want to help other students.

6. Want to be acknowledged and praised for their good work.

7. Want to get prizes and rewards.

10. Are these the same for you with your friends at school?

11. Are these the same for you with your friends outside of school?

12. Are these same things important for you with your family?

13. How important is it to you to feel good about yourself at school? Why?

14. Is it important for you to be liked at school? Why?

15. How important is it to you to feel you can do your schoolwork, that it is not too hard for you?

16. How important is it to you to know why you are at school, and what you can get out of schooling?

17. Think of a successful student at school who is motivated and works hard. Which of the above do you think are most important to this person?

18. Are there any other things that I haven't mentioned that are important to you?

After this ask the following general question to elicit any other ideas.

19. How would you change your school so that it is better for (Native American) students?

The final questions attempt to elicit information regarding the respondents' identification with their cultural background -

20. Tell me a little bit about yourself
21. Do you know any of your cultural practices and traditions?
22. Where did you learn about them?
23. Do you practise any traditions? Which ones?
24. Do you, or anyone you know, speak Native American?

(Separate sheet to give students to assist their responses)

For each statement below: Is this important to you? Is this important to other students you know?

Some students are motivated to work hard at school because they -

1. Want to be really good at their schoolwork and to do better work than before.

2. Want to be better than and beat others at school work, for example come first in a test.

3. Want to be put in charge of others at school.

4. Want to work with their friends.

5. Want to help other students.

6. Want to be acknowledged and praised for their good work.

7. Want to get prizes and rewards.

(At the end of the statements ask): Which ones help you feel good with your friends at school? Which ones help you feel good with your friends outside of school? Which ones make you feel good with you family?

Are there any other things that I haven't mentioned that are important to you?

This qualitative and quantitative longitudinal study will therefore provide information on the following:

1) How beliefs, values and goal orientations are formed.

2) Whether students who hold specific beliefs, values and goal orientations (e.g., mastery, performance, social) maintain these regardless of the environments in which they find themselves.

3) Whether there is a perception of having made a choice or commitment to particular beliefs, values and goal orientations.

4) The coping strategies used by students to sustain their beliefs, values and goal orientations in a variety of settings including the school, or whether they experience conflict and change their strategies.

5) Whether beliefs, values and goal orientations and strategy use are stable across domains (achievement, social, etc) and over time.

6) The salience of different contexts (family, peers, school, community) at different times over the period of the research.

7) How beliefs, values and goal orientations, or changes in these, as well as the cultural/social influences in their lives, affect school motivation and achievement.

Table 1
Frequencies of responses to questions concerning competition drawn from the Inventory of School Motivation

	WANT TODO WELL AT SCH TOBE BETTER	WINNING IS IMPORTANT TO ME	HAPPY ONLY WHEN ONE OF BEST IN CLASS	FINISH FIRST IS V IMPORTANT TO ME
	Count	Count	Count	Count
STRONGLY AGREE	243	166	69	20
AGREE	261	252	154	92
NOT SURE	49	86	116	103
DISAGREE	52	90	228	301
STRONGLY DISAGREE	6	18	46	96

	LIKE MYSCHWK TOBE COMPARED W OTHERS	WK HARDER TOTRY TOBE BTTR THAN OTHRS
	Count.	Count
STRONGLY AGREE	14	55
AGREE	104	202
NOT SURE	102	124
DISAGREE	289	194
STRONGLY DISAGREE	104	38